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JAYNE MEMORIAL LECTURES

The Islands and Peoples of the South Seas and Their Cultures

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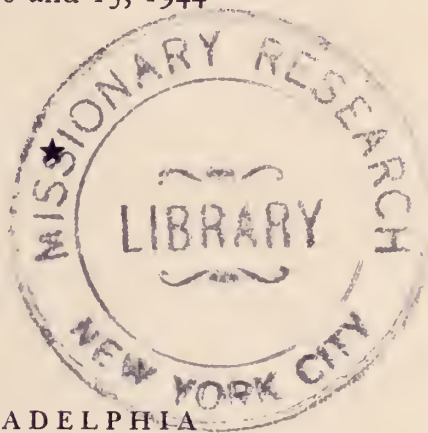
RAYMOND KENNEDY, PH.D.

Associate Professor of Sociology, Yale University

AT THE

American Philosophical Society

March 8 and 15, 1944



PHILADELPHIA

1945

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Henry A. Benson

HENRY LA BARRE JAYNE was zealous in the performance of his civic duties, and was not only cultured himself but was always anxious to make culture available to others. He was the principal supporter of the University Extension movement in Philadelphia. Dr. C. E. A. Winslow appropriately described him as "a man who had a heart eager for better solutions of human welfare, and a mind which sought for such solutions with courage and discretion." Alfred Noyes in a very beautiful poetic tribute included these verses:

"It will be long before you find
A heart like his on earth again,
So quick to feel with all mankind
In joy and pain.

It will be long before you see
Such faith as lit his eyes with youth;
That brave and deep humanity,
That constant truth."

After his death his friends and others who appreciated his services to the Community desired to create some lasting memorial to his memory. They felt that the most fitting way to perpetuate his memory was to add to the balance in the Treasury of the University Extension Society an amount sufficient to provide a fund, the income of which would make it possible to give annually a lecture or series of lectures. These lectures have been delivered since their inception by brilliant American or British scientists, educators, or artists. This booklet gives the interesting lectures of Dr. Kennedy, the latest in the series.

The Islands and Peoples of the South Seas and Their Cultures

Raymond Kennedy, Ph.D.

Associate Professor of Sociology, Yale University

GEOGRAPHY

MOST of the dry land of the world is merged in great continental masses: Eurasia, the Americas, Africa, and Australia. Most of the seas of the world are vast expanses of open water, with few islands to break the loneliness of waves and sky. But one of the oceans, the Pacific, is strewn with islands, large and small, over more than half of its enormous surface. This insular area of the globe, this island realm of the Pacific Ocean, is the subject of our discussion here tonight and of the lecture next week. More particularly, the lectures will concentrate upon the peoples of the South Sea islands and their cultures: their ways of life, their beliefs, and their place in the world at large.

The South Sea islands include four large divisions, from west to east, which have come to be named Indonesia, Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia. These names are descriptive, in one way or another, of the regions to which they apply. They are all formed by combinations based on the Greek root *nesos*, meaning "island." Most of you are already familiar with the kindred term Peloponnesus, or "the island of Pelops."



JAVA LANDSCAPE, INDONESIA

Indonesia, or "the Indian islands," is customarily called the East Indies. The Indies extend from the shadow of India and southeastern Asia to New Guinea, and include three subdivisions: the four Greater Sunda islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and Celebes; the Lesser Sunda chain of intermediate sized islands, running east of Java from Bali to Timor; and the Moluccas, or Spice Islands, a scattering of hundreds of small islands in the seas between Celebes and New Guinea.

Immediately to the east of Indonesia lies Melanesia, or "the black islands," so called because their population is predominantly Negroid. They stretch from New Guinea on the west to Fiji on the east. The major islands and island groups here are New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago (including New Britain and New Ireland), the Solomon Islands, the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, and the Fiji Islands.

Just beyond Fiji lie Samoa and Tonga, the westernmost groups of Polynesia, "the many islands," whose easternmost outliers, Hawaii and Easter Island, mark the limits of the insular realm of Oceania. The main island clusters of Polynesia include Samoa, Tonga, the Cook Islands, the Society Islands, the Tuamotus, the Marquesas, Hawaii, and New Zealand.

To the north of Melanesia, reaching up close to Japan, the sea is dotted with a sprawling array of tiny islands, appropriately named Micronesia. Here the principal groups are the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, the Marshalls, the Carolines, the Marianas, and the Palau Islands.

From the western tip of Sumatra in Indonesia to the lonely outpost of Easter Island the distance is about

ten thousand miles, and from the northern apex of Hawaii to the southern tip of New Zealand extend five thousand watery miles. Of course, the major part of this enormous area is open sea, Indonesia and New Guinea being the only sections with large land masses. The contrast between the different parts appears clearly in their respective areas. Indonesia has a total land area of about 600,000 square miles, most of this being included in the four great islands of Sumatra, Borneo, Java, and Celebes. To give you an idea of their size, Sumatra is approximately 1,000 miles long, and covers an area equivalent to that of California. New Guinea extends over 315,000 square miles, two and a half times the area of the British Isles. All the rest of the land surface of Melanesia, however, covers only about 65,000 square miles, not much bigger than New York State. Polynesia, excepting New Zealand, for all its vast spread over the ocean, has only 10,000 square miles of dry land, of which 6,000 are included in the Hawaiian Islands alone. The Micronesian islands, also scattered over a wide expanse of sea, have a land surface of barely 1,200 square miles. Here in the central Pacific, many inhabited islands measure only two or three square miles.

All of the South Sea islands are colonial territory, controlled by European or Asiatic powers or the United States. The whole of Indonesia—except for northern Borneo, which is British, and eastern Timor, which is Portuguese—is Netherlands territory. Melanesia is divided among three colonial powers: the Dutch owning the western half of New Guinea; the British (and Australians) having jurisdiction in eastern New Guinea and the northern section of the island



LUBUAI LANDSCAPE, POLYNESIA

chain; and the French controlling the southern islands. Polynesia has the most mixed political composition of all, with a checkerboard pattern of American, British, French, and Chilean rule. Much of Micronesia, with the exception of the British-owned Gilbert and Ellice Islands, is now Japanese. In summary, one can state then that the Pacific Islands are all governed by alien nations under varying forms of colonial administration, and that the political jurisdictions are more variegated than anywhere else in the world.

As you look at the map of the South Sea islands, you notice that they lie mostly along the equator, and, with the exception of New Zealand, do not spread much more than twenty degrees to the north and south of the middle line of the earth. Their climate, therefore, is almost entirely tropical or subtropical, a fact which, as we shall see, strongly influences the ways of life of the inhabitants. The environment, then, may be characterized in three terms: oceanic, insular, and equatorial, and its three outstanding features are consequently water, islands, and heat.

The islands themselves are of two main types: the large, continental land masses; and the smaller, oceanic groups. Indonesia is predominantly a region of continental islands, lying mostly on the Asiatic land shelf, with shallow seas between them. Not long ago as geological time is reckoned, about 25,000 years, most of the Indies were connected by land bridges; but with the warming of the northern glaciers the ice-imprisoned water melted and raised the level of the world's oceans, flooding the dry causeways between southeastern Asia, Java, Sumatra, and Borneo. The

Melanesian islands are of the oceanic type, rising from ocean chasms of enormous depth; with the exception of the giant mass of New Guinea, second largest island in the world, which is continental, and rests upon a land shelf that extends north from Australia. Here also, in relatively recent geological times, there was dry land. The islands of Polynesia and Micronesia are entirely oceanic in type, lying far out in the mid-Pacific.

The oceanic islands may be further classified in two distinct categories, namely, high islands and coral atolls. The former are the tops of submarine mountains, raised above the surface of the sea, and are largely volcanic in origin. Many of them rise to considerable elevations, the maximum height being reached in the peak of Mauna Kea, on the island of Hawaii, with an altitude of almost 14,000 feet. The atoll islands present a sharp contrast, seldom rising more than twenty feet above sea level. In heavy storms, waves sometimes sweep clear across the smaller atolls. This type of island is built up by the activity of little sea animals, called polyps, which synthesize carbonate of lime from sea water and precipitate it as solid limestone. Typically, atolls have a circular or elliptical shape, the ring of elevated coral enclosing an inner lagoon.

In this brief description of the geographical nature of the South Sea islands, we have already noticed how the major groups show rather clearcut differences one from another. Indonesia is a zone of large continental islands; Melanesia, except for New Guinea, a region of oceanic islands of intermediate size; and Polynesia and



TUAMOTU ATOLL, POLYNESIA

Micronesia, an area of small islands, some of them high peaks and others low-lying coral atolls.

RACES

Fortunately for a speaker attempting to describe the peoples and cultures of Oceania in a fashion both concise and comprehensive, it is also possible to block out large areas of human and cultural similarity, between each of which the lines of contrast are quite well marked. In other words, as an anthropologist would express it, there are three great racial and cultural zones in the South Seas. The first is Indonesia; the second, Melanesia; and the third, Polynesia and Micronesia combined. These three regions "break clean," so to speak, under anthropological and sociological analysis, although within each of them there are quite marked variations in racial type and cultural pattern.

The best way to begin the treatment of race in Oceania is to name the predominant racial type in each of the large regions. Indonesia is the homeland of the brown-skinned Malay race, and most of the Polynesians and Micronesians also belong to this variety of the species *homo sapiens*. There are two subdivisions of the Malay race: one, basically Caucasoid, is light brown in skin color and closely related to the European white stock; the other, basically Mongoloid, has skin of a darker hue and is allied with the Asiatic yellow stock. The Polynesians and Micronesians, and some of the Indonesian peoples, are mainly of the Caucasoid Malay type; most of the Indonesians, however, belong to the more Mongoloid branch of the Malay race. I know that this begins to sound very complicated, but I think that when I come in a moment to the history of racial

migrations in Oceania the apparent confusion will be clarified. The Melanesian peoples are strikingly different in racial composition from either the Indonesians or the Polynesians and Micronesians, for they are Negroid. And so, to start with, we have our three zones of racial differentiation: Indonesia, mainly Mongoloid, or yellow, Malay; Melanesia, principally Negroid, or black; and Polynesia and Micronesia, predominantly Caucasoid, or white, Malay.

It is interesting to notice the reactions of white travelers to the physical types of the natives in these three great regions of Oceania. Returning American and European voyagers are unanimous in their admiration of the Polynesians and Micronesians. The beautiful maidens and handsome men of these islands have contributed greatly to the romantic appeal of the South Seas. The Indonesian physical type arouses a mixed reaction among whites. Some tribes, such as the Balinese, are highly praised for their beauty; others, the Javanese for instance, are regarded as rather good-looking in an exotic, Asiatic way. The poor Melanesians, however, are voted down, almost unanimously, by whites, as repulsively ugly in appearance. What have we here but a reflection of our own standards of human beauty? Every race of man is narcissistic in this respect, believing its own type of face and body to be the apex of comeliness. The central African bushmen recoil in horror at sight of the pasty skin and grotesquely long noses of white people; and we return the adverse judgment in our disapproval of their sooty skin, flat noses, kinky hair, and thick lips.

This little sermon on relative ideals of racial beauty explains why we admire the appearance of the Poly-



SAIPAN WOMEN AND CHILDREN, MICRONESIA

nesians and Micronesians. They are Caucasoid Malay in stock, distant outliers, if you please, of the white race. The Indonesians are Mongoloid Malay, not so appealing to whites as the more Caucasoid Polynesians, but much closer to our own type than the Negroid Melanesians. The Balinese case is easily explained too, for although Bali is in Indonesia, it happens that the people of this island are mainly of the Caucasoid branch of the Malay race. In short, the likes and dislikes of white travelers in the South Seas are reflections of the true racial situation. Except for the Negroid wedge of Melanesia, the people of the islands are all of the brown-skinned Malay race: on the east, in Polynesia, tending toward the lighter, more Caucasoid strain, and on the west, in Indonesia, inclining toward the darker, more Mongoloid type.

Racial Origins and Migrations. How did these different human stocks get to their present island homes? We have no certain answer, but by piecing together the evidence of archeology, racial and cultural comparison, language relationship, and the legends of the natives themselves, we can arrive at a reasonable approximation of the truth. The story of man in the Pacific begins far back in prehistory. Indeed, the oldest skeletal remains of humanoid creatures, ape-men, have been found in Java. Here, 500,000 to 1,000,000 years ago, lived *Pithecanthropus Erectus*, or Java Man, the most ancient type of man ever discovered. Indonesia, therefore, is the anthropologist's Garden of Eden. Various other so-called "missing links" between apes and fully developed men have also been uncovered in this part of Oceania. But the earliest true men, *homo sapiens* of modern type, to dwell in Oceania were the ancestors



EASTER ISLAND STONE STATUE, POLYNESIA

of the present Australian natives, who, 25,000 years ago, roamed the East Indies. At that time, the islands to the east of Indonesia—Melanesia, Polynesia, and Micronesia—had not yet been discovered by human beings. These early Australoid men have now disappeared from Indonesia, except for some isolated descendants in the deep swamps and remote mountains of a few islands. They still survive, however, in the savage backlands of Australia, to which continent their ancestors passed from Indonesia, traveling partly by rude rafts across the narrow straits between islands, and partly by foot across the land-bridges that, in glacial times, connected many of the islands now separated by water. The primitive-appearing, beetle-browed, dark-skinned, hairy-bodied, and curly-haired Australoid type also appears in many parts of New Guinea, largely intermixed now with the later Negroid stock; and in certain other sections of Melanesia, notably the New Hebrides, where also they have crossbred with Melanesian Negroes.

The next racial type to appear in the islands was Negroid. At one time, perhaps 10,000 or 15,000 years ago, the whole southern rim of the world, from Africa to Indonesia, was inhabited by an almost continuous belt of Negroid peoples. Since then, the Negroid race has been split apart by later intruders, of the white and yellow races, into Asia Minor, India, southeastern Asia, and Indonesia; so that now the African Negroes are far separated from their Melanesian racial brothers of the Pacific. Traces of the former Negroid population still exist in the general Indonesian area, largely in the form of the dwarf Negrito stock, among the interior tribes of the Malay Peninsula, the mountain peoples

of the Philippines, and numerous isolated and primitive groups in Sumatra, Timor, and some other islands. The highlands of New Guinea also have a largely Negrito population. But the day of the Negroid race has passed in the Indies, and the center of black population is now located in Melanesia, to the east.

The expulsion of the old Negroid stock in Indonesia was caused by the entrance of a new race into the islands. This movement down from southeastern Asia began perhaps 10,000 years ago, and continued until about 5,000 years ago. It brought in the brown-skinned Malay race. The earlier waves of Malays were of predominantly Caucasoid stock; the later migrations becoming more and more Mongoloid. The reason for this interesting differentiation between the earlier and later Malays is as follows. The Caucasoid, or white, race in this prehistoric period spread clear across the southern part of Asia, from the Mediterranean to the China Sea. The present populations of Iraq, Iran, and northern India are mainly of Caucasoid stock at the present time. But in southeastern Asia—southern China, Burma, Indo-China, and Thailand—these dark and distant outliers of the white race were pushed out of the Asiatic continent, and down into Indonesia, as the Mongoloid peoples of central and northern Asia moved southward. The later Malays coming into the Indies were more and more mixed with the Mongoloid newcomers in the old southeastern Asia homeland, to the extent that the western parts of Indonesia today are largely populated by Malays of Mongoloid type. But in the mountain lands of Sumatra and Java and Celebes, in the deep interior of Borneo, and in the eastern islands of the Indies, the



ARU MEN, MOLUCCAS, INDONESIA

old Caucasoid Malay stock still survives, pushed back into the remoter districts by the more Mongolized later Malays.

Not all of the earlier Malays stayed in the Indies, however. As the movement of peoples from south-eastern Asia continued, and as population pressure and conflicts between the older inhabitants and the newer arrivals increased, dispossessed groups and exploring parties of earlier Malays began to venture out into the great eastern ocean. They found New Guinea and the rest of Melanesia already in the possession of hostile Negroid tribes, who drove them away from the island shores. They then turned northward, and discovered the Micronesian islands, largely uninhabited, or, in some sections, thinly populated by Negroid predecessors. Here many of the Malay adventurers settled down, and became the ancestors of most of the present Micronesians. But the movement into Micronesia from Indonesia kept on, and before long the old drama of war and dispossession was re-enacted in these tiny islands of northern Oceania.

Again the eastward migration got under way, and parties of men, women, and children, with food supplies aboard their big double canoes, set out from Micronesia for new homes beyond the ocean horizon. The main route of migration was southeastward, down through the Line Islands to the Society Islands, and here there grew up a large population. Another less used route was southward, to Samoa and Tonga. Thus the first peopling of Polynesia took place from Micronesia to the two ancient centers of Samoa and Tonga, in western Polynesia, and the Society Islands, in the middle Pacific. Most of the later migrations

of the Polynesian seafarers, the "Vikings of the sunrise," as Peter Buck calls them, started from the latter center, and the Society Islands, including Tahiti, are regarded as the motherland by most of the Polynesians. But they still remember, in their legends and songs, the far-off homeland, Hawaiki-pa-mamao, where the ancestors lived before they voyaged out into the Pacific; and this distant land of origin is Indonesia. The souls of the dead return there, traveling westward along the rays of the setting sun.

The story of the peopling of Polynesia is a record of amazing feats of navigation, by primitive sailors setting out from the Society Islands and steering by the stars and other signs known to the traditional lore of these maritime experts. In the course of only a few centuries, these consummate seamen discovered every habitable island of the vast Pacific, and settled on nearly all of them. They sailed in large double canoes, connected by wooden booms, and attaining lengths of sixty to one hundred feet. On the platform between the two vessels a cabin was constructed. The parties consisted of men, women, and children, showing that not only discovery but also settlement was in view; and provisions sufficient for three or four weeks at sea were taken aboard, including flour made of dried pandanus fruit, cooked breadfruit, sweet potatoes, dried fish, and, above all, coconuts, a source of both food and drink. Fresh fish and sea birds were caught along the way to supplement the standard stores; and dogs, pigs, and chickens were taken along too. Modern navigators stand in awe of the skill and efficiency with which these Polynesian sea migrations were carried out. I think that few who know the facts would



PAPUAN MEN, NEW GUINEA

object to the statement that the Polynesians of the period of the great voyages, considering their equipment, performed the most remarkable feats of seamanship in the history of the world.

And the stories of all these travels have come down to the present day, preserved in the chants and genealogical recitations of the islanders. The sea poems of the Polynesians have a Viking air about them, reminding one of the sagas of the great voyagers of Scandinavia. Peter Buck, the foremost authority on Polynesia, whose mother was a New Zealand Maori, has translated one of them as follows:

“The handle of my steering paddle thrills to action,
My paddle named Kautu-ki-te-rangi.
It guides to the horizon but dimly discerned.
To the horizon that lifts before us.
To the horizon that ever recedes . . .
The horizon not hitherto pierced.
The lowering skies above,
The raging seas below,
Oppose the untraced path
Our ships must go.”

Each island has its own migration tales and ancestral heroes, and the genealogies of the families are passed down from generation to generation, being well remembered because they are recited on all important occasions. The genealogies of the different islands and families converge on the homeland, the Society Islands, and eventually lead back to the gods, who are thus believed to be the original ancestors of the Polynesians. By tracing the genealogies and allowing about twenty-five years to each generation, it is pos-

sible to date with a fair degree of accuracy the events of Polynesian history. The last great movement out from central Polynesia was to New Zealand about 1350 A.D. Every New Zealand native knows in which of the canoes his ancestors voyaged, for each of the vessels was named. Indeed, the Maori do not say that they belong to such and such a family, but rather that they belong to such and such a "canoe."

And so, long before any white ships ventured into the Pacific, all the habitable islands were already occupied by the native seafarers. There is almost certain evidence that some canoes even reached the coast of South America, for the sweet potato, a native American plant, was widespread in Oceania before the time of European exploration, and the Polynesian name of this vegetable is *kumara*, almost identical with the Peruvian Indian term for it, *kumar*. Moreover, the calabash, which is native to Oceania, is found in South America. I may remark at this point, however, that all theories claiming that Polynesia was settled from the Americas, or that there was any considerable infiltration from Oceania into South America are denied by anthropologists. It is certain that any contacts which did occur were sporadic and quickly broken. Another romantic theory we sometimes hear propounded is that the Polynesian islands are the high tips of a great sunken continent, and that the Polynesians are the descendants of the survivors of the great catastrophe. Oceanographers have sounded these seas and find no trace of a submerged land mass. The great stone statues of Easter Island have been used as evidence to support these wild hypotheses, but the truth is that the early Malays, and their Micronesian



BALI WOMAN, INDONESIA



HAWAII YOUTH, POLYNESIA

and Polynesian descendants, built stone monuments all along the path from the Indies to Easter Island; and even until this day the natives of Nias, off the west coast of Sumatra, and of Sumba, east of Bali, erect great stone monuments that show relationship with those of Polynesia. The lost continent myth is just that, a myth; and you can take my word for it that the history I have just recounted is the closest true approximation of the Oceanic past.

DISCOVERY AND DEPOPULATION

When the first Spanish and Dutch explorers came into the Pacific, around 1600, the population of the island world was much larger than it is today. The Melanesians probably numbered about 2,200,000, but now they total 1,400,000. Micronesia, at the dawn of white contact, had a population of 200,000, which has dropped now to 100,000. Polynesia, originally inhabited by 1,100,000 natives, now contains only 330,000. The causes of this disastrous depopulation are numerous and varied. New diseases brought by outsiders, diseases to which the natives had no acquired immunity, caused most of the havoc. Tuberculosis, respiratory illnesses, venereal afflictions, typhoid, smallpox, and measles all raged through the islands and swept many of them almost clean. As late as 1875, an epidemic of measles, regarded as a harmless children's disease among us, killed off 30 per cent of the Fijian population.

Imported firearms also contributed no little share to the depopulation. In pre-white days, native warfare was not very bloody, and native weapons only moderately destructive. But with firearms warfare be-



DOUBLE CANOE, POLYNESIA

tween districts and islands took heavy toll; and what had been little more than a dangerous sport became a means of death and devastation. Slave raids by Europeans were another cause of population decline in several regions, notably in the Marquesas, the Gilberts, and Easter Island. The white man's alcohol and the seizure of native lands also contributed to the population decline; and along with all these specific causes there was the general disorganization of native life and customs under the impact of foreign civilization. Bewildered, diseased, abused, exploited, the Pacific peoples in many instances seemed almost to lose the will to live. They were the victims of what might be called extreme culture shock.

The only exception to this sad recital were the Indonesians. In the large islands of the Indies, the Dutch have had control ever since 1650, and their treatment of the natives, although by no means ideal, was so much better than occurred elsewhere in the South Seas that the Indonesians have steadily increased in population since first white contact. Probably there were not more than 5,000,000 natives in the Indies in 1600. By 1940 this figure had mounted to almost 70,000,000. Java, in pre-white days, had a population of perhaps 3,000,000; it now supports the astounding total of 50,000,000, and is the most thickly populated country in the world. We shall notice other marked differences between Indonesia and the other Pacific lands when we discuss the cultural situation.

Returning now to the areas of depopulation, the last chapter of this grim and desperate story suddenly becomes radiant with hope. For the island peoples of the Pacific have rebounded from a low point around

1900, and have been increasing at an amazing rate ever since. The reasons for this heartening turnabout are now quite clear. They have recovered from their cultural shock, and have now reintegrated their societies on a new basis of compromise between East and West. This new synthesis has progressed farther in Polynesia and Micronesia than in Melanesia, but it is already under way in the latter region. The ravages of disease have been checked by modern public health services that bring sanitation measures and medicines to the natives. Slavery and unrestricted recruiting of laborers for work on distant plantations have been either abolished or brought under strict control. Native warfare has been suppressed and traffic in firearms prohibited. A few sample figures demonstrate the results. From the lowest point in 1900, when the Polynesian natives had declined to a mere 180,000, they have now increased to 330,000—almost a doubling in forty years. The Micronesians declined from an original 200,000 to 83,000 in 1910; but now they have increased to 100,000. The population of the island of Kusaie in Micronesia, for instance, had dropped from 2,000 in 1825 to 125 in 1891; now it has risen to 1,000. The Maori of New Zealand totalled only 40,000 in 1900; they now number almost 100,000. All over the Pacific, one notices the swarming hosts of children and young people. The “will to live” has returned to the natives; and the “burned-over land,” so to speak, is putting forth a thick growth of new foliage. Melanesia lags behind still, and indeed did not reach its lowest point of population until 1920. It is still the most sparsely inhabited part of Oceania, but depopulation has now been checked, and a slow increase is ap-

parent in most of the islands. Melanesia, as you will see, is the laggard region of Oceania all along the line. It is one of the world's last frontiers.

LANGUAGES

Even though we knew nothing of the history of the South Sea natives, the language situation would enable us to deduce broad areas of relationship. All the languages of the Pacific belong to a single great linguistic family, the Malayo-Polynesian stock, with one important exception. The hundreds of tribes in Indonesia, Polynesia, and Micronesia all speak related tongues; so that if you learn Malay, for instance, which is spoken in Sumatra, you will find Hawaiian, 10,000 miles away, quite familiar. The relationship is analogous to that between French and Italian, or German and Swedish. The one exception to this uniformity is New Guinea and certain interior sections of Melanesia. Here the languages are entirely different, completely unrelated to Malayo-Polynesian, and are apparently the ones brought into Oceania by the pre-Malay wave of Negroid peoples. However, in most of the Melanesian islands Malayo-Polynesian languages are spoken, and anthropologists explain this as a consequence of later reverse influence from Polynesia, which displaced the old Melanesian languages by Malayo-Polynesian dialects.

None of the Oceanic languages was written until the period of European contact, except for several of the Indonesian idioms. Almost 2,000 years ago, Hindu colonists from India began coming into the coastlands of Java, Sumatra, and the other western islands of the Indies, and they introduced the script in which San-

skrit was written. Hindu influence continued uninterrupted for over a thousand years, until 1500, and during this time the Hindu alphabet came into use among the Javanese and many other Indonesian peoples. Starting about 1300, Mohammedanism spread into the Indies, and gradually engulfed the old Hindu states, replacing the Sanskrit script with Arabic writing. Then, in the 16th century, Europeans, mainly Dutch, came into the islands, and since then the Roman alphabet has entered the field, largely by way of the school system. Indonesia again, we see, is exceptional among the island groups of Oceania, the reason being that it lies in close proximity to the Asiatic continent and therefore has been subjected to the civilizing influences of the mainland cultures, principally that of India.

In former times, when there was relatively little contact between the peoples of different islands, and, in large islands, between the various tribes—what contact there was being largely warlike—the natives had neither need nor desire for common languages that could be used in intertribal communication. In some regions, standardized sign-languages developed, and in others, where friendly relations had been established between neighboring groups, pidgin dialects, usable throughout restricted areas, grew up. But before Europeans and Americans came into Oceania, bringing with them improved means of travel and trade, as well as governmental systems that enforced peace, no common languages that could be understood over large zones were evolved.

In the past five hundred years, however, most of the people of the South Seas have become bilingual, speak-

ing their own local language at home and using another medium of speech with outsiders. In some areas, one of the old languages has been adopted as the *lingua franca*, or common language, for all the tribes; in others, a new synthetic trade language has been introduced. In Indonesia, Malay, the language of the natives of east Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, is now understood throughout most of the archipelago, as far east as New Guinea, although each of the tribes—in Java, Borneo, Celebes, and the other islands—still retains its own traditional idiom. In southern Polynesia, Tahitian has become the standard medium of communication between the various islands. In southern New Guinea, one of the local languages, Motuan, has been adopted as the *lingua franca*. Throughout most of the rest of Melanesia, where under native conditions completely different languages might be spoken by villages separated by only a few miles, Pidgin English is used as a common language between the different tribes and between natives and whites. Pidgin English has spread to many parts of Micronesia also. Thus, although no universal Oceanic tongue has yet been evolved, the great trade languages now cover large areas of the Pacific. Indeed, with a knowledge of three such languages—Malay, Pidgin English, and Tahitian—one could make himself understood in all except a few outlying sections of the islands.

CULTURE LEVELS

When we examine the various aspects of Oceanic culture—material, social, and religious—the difference between Indonesia and the other areas stands out

clearly. And just as Indonesian native civilization is immensely more complex and advanced than that of Polynesia and Micronesia, so also do the latter two regions stand far above Melanesia in cultural level. Indonesia is a land of great contrasts, however. Some of the most primitive tribes on earth roam the east Sumatra swamplands and the trackless jungles of Borneo. But great empires have flourished in Java and Sumatra, culminating in the enormously powerful kingdom of Modjopahit, which, from its capital in eastern Java, ruled over the whole of the Indies, parts of the Philippines, and the Malay Peninsula. When Kublai Khan was the most potent ruler on earth, in the latter part of the 13th century, his attempts to subjugate the Javanese ended in complete defeat of the Chinese forces. Indonesia is a country of great literature, highly developed art and drama and music, and enormous natural wealth. But I repeat that large parts of the Indies are still primitive, particularly the interior districts of the islands outside Java.

By contrast with this land of classic history and traditions, the other island groups possess cultures of relative simplicity and little variation over great areas. Whereas Indonesia presents a spectrum of cultural development from complete savagery to highly sophisticated urban life, Polynesian and Micronesian native culture is of a general sameness throughout, and, if not exactly primitive, is at best quite simple. Melanesian native culture is completely primitive in nearly all the islands, the sole exception being Fiji, which, lying on the border of Polynesia, has acquired many features of the relatively higher culture of the latter region.

Race, Culture, and Temperament. So there we have our contrast stated in general terms. Before proceeding to discussion of the particulars of Oceanic culture, it might be well to offer an impressionistic description of the kinds of people involved, their temperament, and their character. The Indonesians are short people, the men averaging only about five feet two inches in height, the women slightly under five feet, with brown skin, black hair varying from straight to slightly wavy, flat and broad faces with rather wide noses and lips of medium thickness, and a slim body build. Those who are of the earlier Malay stock—for instance, the mountain tribes of Sumatra and Celebes, and the Balinese—look like miniature, brown-skinned versions of Europeans, with a slightly Mongoloid, sometimes barely perceptible Negroid, cast of countenance. The later Malay stock—dominant among the Javanese, Malays, and other coastal peoples—is more markedly Mongoloid, with straight black hair, prominent cheekbones, and slanting eyes that often have an inner fold on the upper lid. They look like Chinese, except that their partially Caucasoid ancestry, with an occasional tinge of Negroid added, has diluted the prevailing Mongoloid strain. The Indonesians are almost never too fat or too lean, but have graceful, rounded bodies and exquisitely turned limbs. They are characteristically calm and reserved in manner, almost phlegmatic in disposition, but withal charmingly polite and friendly. Not a boisterously happy people by any means, they make a decidedly pleasant impression in a quiet way. They hold quite stubbornly to their traditional customs, but this extreme conservatism is beginning to give way to a desire to participate



JAVA WOMEN, INDONESIA

in modern education, economic life, and politics. In all my years of living among Indonesians, I almost never encountered any discourtesy or unpleasantness. Their indolent manner and retiring disposition are no sign of dull minds, for they are intelligent and quick to learn. There is no doubt that they have been strongly influenced by the contemplative, introspective character ideal of India and eastern Asia.

The Polynesians and Micronesians are as different from the Indonesians as Americans are from Chinese. Although basically of the same racial stock as the people of the Indies, in them the earlier Malay strain predominates, and they look quite Caucasoid; which is why, as we have seen, white travelers think them the handsomest natives of the Pacific. They are much taller on the average than Indonesians, the men often attaining five feet ten inches and even six feet. The mean height is much lower, however, not exceeding five feet six inches for men, and about two inches less for women. Their skin is light brown, their hair black and either straight or wavy, their faces rather long and narrow, their noses of medium width, and their lips of moderate thickness. Their whole appearance is that of Europeans or Americans who have touches of Mongoloid or Negroid in their ancestry. Different from Indonesians, they have a strong tendency to obesity, and many of them are very fat. Also in contrast to Indonesians, they are free and easy in manner, uninhibited in temperament, jolly, good-natured, and extremely friendly. Although they have clung tenaciously to many of their old customs, despite long continued contact with outsiders, they are much more readily adaptable to new ways than the markedly

conservative Indonesians. The natives of several Micronesian groups, Palau for instance, differ considerably from the Polynesians in appearance and character, and this is owing undoubtedly to their partially Melanesian ancestry. You will remember that when the early Malay invasions reached Micronesia, Negroid peoples were already in partial possession of the islands, and intermixture took place. But in general the physical type and temperament of the Micronesians incline much more strongly to the Polynesian norm than to the Melanesian.

The Melanesians are Negroid, completely different in physical appearance from any of the other islanders of the Pacific. They show quite marked variations among themselves, however. The Negritos of the central New Guinea mountains, for instance, are pygmies, with an average stature well under five feet; the hill people of the New Hebrides and many tribes of New Guinea are obviously intermixed with Australoid strains, displaying the characteristic craggy features, hairy bodies, and bearded faces of this archaic race; and other variations from the Melanesian Negroid norm could be mentioned. But the standard Melanesian type is clearly predominant, with slim and lanky bodies of medium height, dark brown or almost black skin, frizzy hair that stands out in bushy fashion from the head, fairly wide noses, and lips of moderate thickness. The Melanesians differ from African Negroes mainly in facial appearance, for their noses and lips are not so wide and thick as among the generality of Africans. This and other divergences are probably owing to the Australoid and Malay infusions that have seeped into the stock from surrounding regions.

Temperamentally, the Melanesian Negroes are much more volatile and excitable than the other Oceanic peoples, showing extreme contrast in this respect with the phlegmatic Malays of Indonesia. Moreover, whereas friendliness toward outsiders is characteristic of most Polynesians, Indonesians, and Micronesians, the Melanesians tend to be suspicious, secretive, and in many cases ferociously hostile to aliens. Even among themselves they display an aggressiveness and mutual enmity that surpasses the rather moderate warlikeness of the other Oceanic groups. But Melanesia, as I have remarked before, is a very primitive frontier region, where each little tribe forms a closed social and political cell, outside which most relationships are either warlike, or, at best, warily suspicious. Our own European ancestors were undoubtedly on this level of social development only a few thousand years ago, and Melanesia in most respects can be regarded as a region where cultural evolution has been retarded by conditions of extreme isolation until very recently. Large sections of these "black islands," notably the interior of New Guinea, have never been explored by outsiders.

The last statement emphasizes the broad lines of cultural contrast which I have already indicated. Melanesia is still a region of stone-age culture in many of its parts, and only very recently has this situation begun to change. Polynesia and Micronesia were also areas of stone-age culture until a few hundred years ago. But most of Indonesia has long since passed beyond the truly primitive stage, and has experienced the civilizing influences of India and other Asiatic nations for two thousand years. This "ladder of cul-

ture" in Oceania, with Indonesia at the top and Melanesia at the bottom, will appear clearly in what I shall have to say about the native cultures of the islands, which I shall discuss under three main headings: material culture, social and political organization, and religion.

ECONOMICS

First then: How do the peoples of the South Seas make a living? What kinds of houses do they live in? How do they dress? What techniques of handicraft do they know? What products of utilitarian or esthetic value do they manufacture? How has native economic life been affected by contact with modern civilization?

The Pacific islands really have a dual economy: one, the true native system, which produces food and other articles for local consumption and use only; and the other, the recently introduced export economy, operated mainly by Europeans and Americans, with native hired labor, which produces commodities for world trade. In most of the islands a very small proportion of the natives participate in the money economy based on export goods. The great majority of them work and produce solely for their own needs, and the communities are almost entirely self-sufficient economic units. If all the rest of the world were to drop away, a Javanese village or a Polynesian island community could continue existing with little dislocation of its closed economy.

Food. The principal economic activity in all the islands is agriculture. The Oceanians are pre-eminently farmers, and subsist mainly on vegetable food.

This surprises many people who visualize the Borneo and Sumatran natives, for instance, as wild hunters, who spend most of their time tracking down game with spear and blowgun. But, except for a few very primitive tribes in some of the Indonesian islands, hunting plays a minor role in the food quest of the Pacific peoples. Fishing is much more important, which is to be expected, since the South Sea natives are islanders. Whereas in our society the standard diet is meat and vegetables, in Oceania fish and vegetables are the staple fare. Fishing methods are much the same in all parts of the Pacific, all the usual techniques being employed, such as nets, lines, and traps; but in addition to these the islanders are skilled in other special methods, such as stupefying fish with drugs, spearing them, shooting them with bows and arrows, swimming beneath the water and stabbing them with knives, harpooning them, and even lassoing big ones, like sharks, with nooses. Not only are they expert fishermen, therefore, but piscatorial virtuosos as well.

In agriculture, however, there are marked variations between the different sections of Oceania. The principal food crop of Indonesia is rice, grown either on dry ground or on irrigated hillside terraces, which in some islands rise thousands of feet up the mountain slopes like gigantic stone-faced stairways. Maize, or corn, is the second most important Indonesian agricultural product. But east of the Indies, grain foods are unknown, except where they have been recently introduced by white men. Here, in Melanesia, Polynesia, and Micronesia, root crops take first place in the economy, the staples being yams, sweet potatoes, and taro, a large tuberous vegetable that sometimes attains

gigantic size. It is certain that a few thousand years ago the ancestors of the present Indonesians also had no grain foods, and lived largely upon yams and taro. Indeed, some isolated tribes of the Indies—the people of the Mentawai Islands, off Sumatra's west coast, for instance—still retain the pre-rice yam and taro economy. In one large section of the South Seas—in the Molucca Islands of eastern Indonesia and in New Guinea—another vegetable food occupies the dominant place in the economy, and this is sago, a tapioca-like substance obtained by washing and straining the pith of the trunk of a certain kind of palm tree. This material is then dried and pounded into meal, which may be eaten as mush or baked in cakes. There are cases of white men lost in the New Guinea wilderness, starving to death in the midst of sago palms, which, if they only had known, could have been felled and split open for food. In addition to the main staples of rice, corn, sago, and tubers, the Oceanic peoples grow such subsidiary foods as coconuts, bananas, breadfruit, sugarcane, and a variety of fruits. In Indonesia, the range of crops is very wide, and includes scores of kinds of vegetables and fruits; but in the smaller islands, and particularly on the low, infertile atolls, the native diet is highly restricted. Generation after generation, the atoll-dwelling Micronesians, for instance, have subsisted entirely upon fish, taro, pandanus, and coconut.

Dietitians who insist upon the necessity of a varied diet should take note of the results of this narrow range of foodstuffs in Oceania. The Polynesians and Micronesians, despite their limited fare, have fine, strong bodies and good teeth; while the Indonesians, for all their more varied foods, seem to be no healthier than

their racial brothers of the oceanic islands. But the Melanesians, who consume less fish and whose diet consists almost entirely of starchy foods, do show marked evidences of undernourishment. In the old days, these Negroid peoples were better off, because they got occasional meals of fresh meat at cannibalistic feasts. Some authorities have claimed that the great prevalence of man-eating in Melanesia, where it flourished more generally than anywhere else on earth, represented an adjustment to dietary deficiency. As a matter of fact, although cannibalism was practiced in some parts of Indonesia and in most of the Polynesian islands, in these places it had a magical and religious significance, based upon the general idea that by eating the body of a human being one acquired the soul force, the *Lebenskraft* or life-strength, of the victim. I hope it will not offend anyone present if I say that anthropologists see a direct connection between primitive cannibalistic beliefs and practices and the modern religious ritual of communion, in which flesh and blood are symbolically consumed. At any rate, the starch-stuffed Melanesians, although they too had the idea that spiritual strength was acquired by eating the bodies of human beings, practiced cannibalism also because of their physiological craving for meat. It was their way of achieving a balanced diet.

The use of narcotics and stimulants among the Oceanic natives never reached harmful excess until the coming of the white men, whose strong alcoholic drinks caused havoc in certain regions. The old indulgents included betel nut, kava, and some weak fermented liquors; but each one of these had a restricted area of distribution. Tobacco, of course, was unknown any-

where except in the Americas before Columbus; since then this remarkable narcotic has spread all over the world, including Oceania. The chewing of betel nut, which is a mild narcotic like tobacco, extends from Indonesia to the western part of Melanesia and Micronesia, and not beyond. At just about the line where betel-chewing stops, kava-drinking begins, and is a popular practice in most of Melanesia, eastern Micronesia, and all of Polynesia. In western Polynesia, the serving of kava, which is a moderately stimulating beverage made from the root of a certain vine, is an indispensable feature of all important ceremonies. Fermented beer or wine, made from palm sap, coconut milk, or, in the Indies, rice and sugar, was formerly known only in Indonesia and western Micronesia.

Three domesticated animals were carried along by virtually all the South Sea peoples in their migrations outward from the Indies: the dog, the pig, and the chicken. All three are eaten in many of the islands, the dog less commonly than the other two. The only region where other animals are bred in captivity is Indonesia; and here water-buffalo, cattle, goats, sheep, and horses are domesticated in many parts of the islands.

Property. I mentioned a while back that the South Sea natives have a subsistence economy mainly, and that they supply virtually all of their needs by their own efforts from the soil on which they live and from the surrounding sea. I will now go further and say that their economy is communalistic, and not individualistic like ours. They are genuine communists, or socialists, if you please. The land-owning units are not individuals, but groups, whether families, clans, or

villages. All the members of the land-holding unit have the right to the use of the communal land, and according to aboriginal concepts, no part of the ancestral soil could be given away or sold outside the group. Individual monopolistic private property in land, as a matter of fact, is unthinkable to most primitive peoples; just as private ownership of the air or the sea would be inconceivable to us. Throughout Oceania, much of the disorganization of native social life and economy has been owing to the conflict of western ideas of property in land with native rules. What has happened in most parts of the area is that white men have taken over the best land, by one means or another, mainly by what the natives consider to be illegal or fraudulent maneuvers. The one great exception to this statement is Indonesia, where the Dutch have insisted upon retaining the native land laws, and where no outsider, no matter how much he is willing to pay, can buy land from natives. The big plantations and mining developments of the Indies lease the land they use from native states or villages, paying rent for it; and when the term of lease expires, usually after seventy-five years, the natives may demand return of the land. The consequence of this wise policy is that the people of the Dutch islands have never lost any of their ancestral ground, and Indonesian native economy is sound and healthy. Following the lead of the Dutch, other colonial administrations in the Pacific are now attempting to rectify past errors and abuses, and to protect native land from future loss to outsiders.

The pattern of group ownership of land finds a counterpart in the sphere of labor, and the daily work

of Oceanic communities is generally carried on by cooperative groups, not individuals. The size of the labor group varies with the magnitude of the task. If a large section of land is to be cleared for planting, for instance, a whole community or clan may cooperate in the job. Then, when the major toil is finished, the ground is divided up among the families, which work their own plots as smaller cooperative units. When harvest time comes, the families may then combine again in a total village or clan group, doing the task as a communal organization of mutual aid. The same pattern comes into play when a large house is to be constructed, or a big hunt or fishing expedition organized.

Although each community operates in this manner as a kind of land-holding corporation and labor syndicate, and produces all that it consumes, even before the trade goods of the western world created new desires that could be satisfied only by extending the economic horizon beyond the local settlement, inter-village and interisland trade was carried on in many parts of Oceania. Trading was least developed in the Polynesian and Micronesian islands, where most of the communities were entirely self-sufficient. In Indonesia, an area of large islands, bartering of upland rice for coastal fish was, and is, a regular feature of native economy. And in certain parts of Melanesia, inter-village and interisland trading expeditions follow regular routes each year, exchanging not only utilitarian goods—for instance, fish for pottery—but also ritual objects of various kinds, which symbolically guarantee the continuance of traditional trading relationships between groups. In other words, after the purely

commercial transactions are concluded, the trade friends seal the bargain, and, so to speak, promise future contracts to each other by exchanging ornaments with magical significance and holding ceremonial feasts. The great anthropologist, Malinowski, has immortalized this dramatic *kula* trade ritual of Melanesia in his classic book, *The Argonauts of the Western Pacific*.

While communalism prevails in the system of land ownership and labor in Oceania, individual property and initiative are not entirely excluded. A man and his family may accumulate considerable private wealth in pigs, mats, native kinds of money, ritual objects, and the like; and by this demonstration of wealth-gaining enterprise achieve considerable prestige. But the Oceanian capitalist, if he wishes to be well thought of by his fellows, must follow a strict rule of *noblesse oblige*, which demands that he be generous in the giving of feasts and gifts. Indeed, prestige in the economic sphere is gained not so much by merely hoarding wealth as by giving it away. Thorstein Veblen, the gadfly of the American millionaire, could have enriched his famous book, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, if he had included cases from the South Seas of what he called "conspicuous consumption." In Indonesia, the chief or the rich man who yearns for adulation must be liberal in providing feasts and entertainment for his village. In Polynesia and Micronesia, a man who impoverishes himself by elaborate display of generosity is honored far above the one who remains wealthy by cherishing his riches. In Melanesia, the path to social advancement up the successive grades of the secret societies can be climbed only by elaborate

gift-giving. Throughout the whole area, economic competition between individuals and families takes the form of trying to surpass all rivals in the public dissipation of wealth.

But even in ordinary daily life, sharing of food and goods with the needy members of one's group is a duty that must not be avoided. Each family, clan, and village group is a mutual aid unit, and no native would think of refusing to share his provisions with a fellow-member who is in want. As one Polynesian expressed it: "My relatives are my bank."

The South Sea peoples are puzzled and scandalized by the stinginess of whites. They find it hard to respect a man who merely hoards, and never gives away freely. Keesing, in his book, *The South Seas in the Modern World*, expresses very well the Polynesian attitude toward the white man's economic mores: "In terms of native economic ideals, the individualistic, bustling, efficient, materialistic . . . Westerner is likely to be judged as anti-social, greedy, stingy . . . a kind of bedeviled god or commercial lunatic."

Work and Leisure. Another outstanding point of difference between the South Sea islanders and the white man in the economic sphere appears in their different attitudes toward work. The Oceanic native works to live, never lives to work. He cannot understand why anyone should glorify labor as anything except a means to an end, a kind of necessary evil. He will work only at what interests him or at what he must do in order to maintain life and fulfill his social obligations. And the best moments of life are those of leisure. These he values above all else, and he refuses to give them up unless he is forced to do so.

The peculiar idea that there is something sacred about labor as such, which has made of many Europeans and Americans what Keesing, speaking for the Polynesians, calls "commercial lunatics," makes no appeal to the Oceanic peoples. Their insistence on enjoying life exasperates white employers who want them to work, day in and day out, on plantations. Thus they have acquired a reputation for laziness. But actually laziness is not the proper word for it. Rather is the truth, as Keesing puts it, that they have "the highest standards of leisure in the world." Why have we never thought of measuring our standard of living by the amount of leisure we have? But away with that dangerous thought! Moreover, the South Sea islander hates dull, routine jobs; and in his own community always tries to lighten the burden of work by doing it in groups, to the accompaniment of singing, story-telling, and light conversation; and the completion of a big task is always marked by a feast. To such a man, the grim, silent, steady, lonely plantation job holds no attraction; and is something to be avoided by all possible means.

Money and Exchange. But the modern world has made inroads into the Elysian lands of leisure of the South Seas, and has superimposed a new economy upon the old. In one way or another, the introduction of western money, goods, markets, and jobs has affected most of the Pacific peoples. The old native exchange systems were based largely on barter, although certain types of money were in use. Some of these were employed in trade, but they functioned principally in the spheres of ceremony and prestige attainment. The mat money of Samoa, the whale-tooth currency

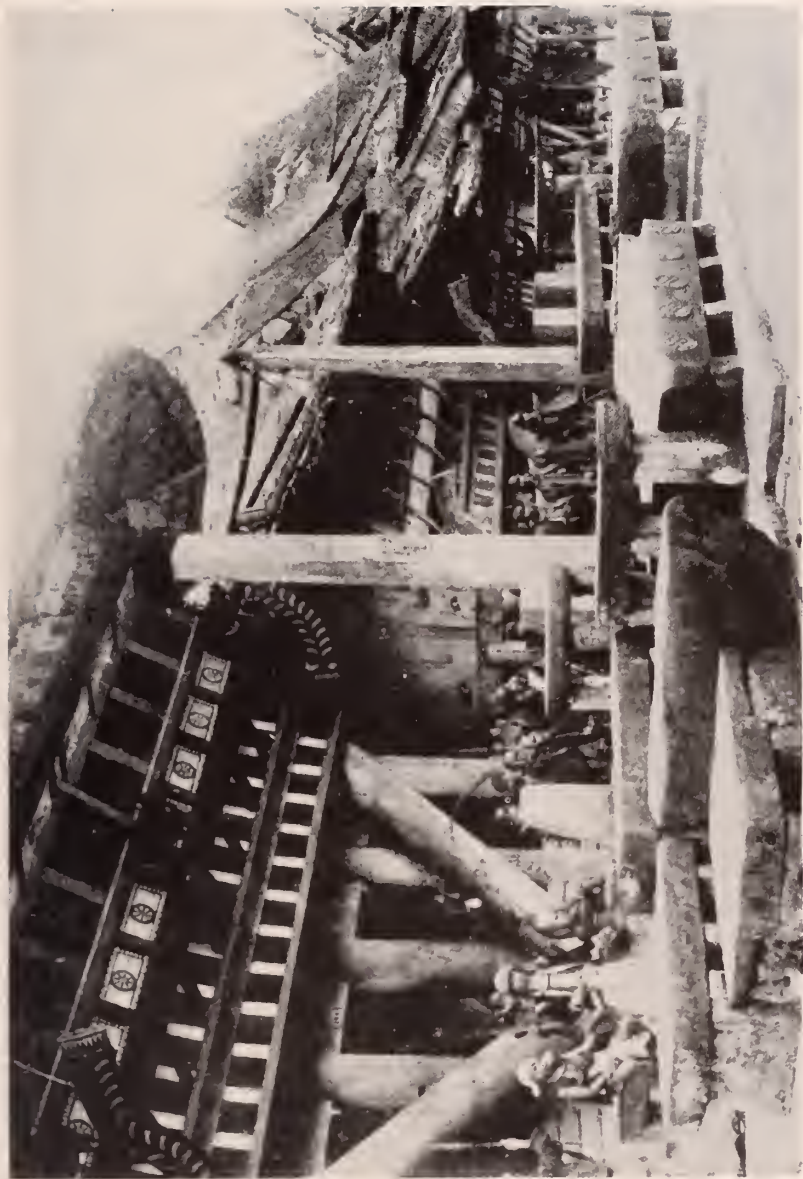
of Fiji, the shell money of Melanesia, and the great stone "doughnut" money of Yap—the latter often six to eight feet in diameter—were used principally for prestige gift-giving, payment of the price for a bride, and the like. These ancient types of money are still used, even though standard world currencies have been introduced into all Oceanic regions except remote parts of Melanesia; but their function is now entirely ritual. To satisfy new desires for the articles of western commerce—soap, flashlights, textiles, and the rest—the natives may either barter products with traders or, and this is now the most common means, secure the white man's kind of money. In either case, alteration of the old subsistence economy is demanded. The white trader will take in barter only goods that have export value: not yams, taro, and the other traditional products of native economy, but copra, mother-of-pearl, and similar commodities which the natives never produced before. And if the South Sea islander wants to obtain cash, he must either produce and sell these export articles, or go to work for foreigners.

Some of the natives work intermittently, by the day or week, to get a little cash; but others sign contracts for long terms of labor on plantations or in mines far off from their homes. In former times, labor recruiting was carried on with little or no governmental supervision, and abuses were rampant. Natives were shanghaied aboard the vessels of the "blackbirders," as the labor bosses were called, and treated inhumanely. Nowadays, the business of labor recruiting is carefully supervised, but the draining from native communities of large numbers of young men for long periods of labor in distant lands still causes much social disor-

ganization. However, both the casual laborers and the contract coolies do not break all ties with family and home, and return sooner or later. But an increasing number of Oceanians are cutting all bonds with their ancestral clans and communities, and taking up permanent residence in the new towns and cities built by white men. Thus an urban proletariat is slowly growing up in the South Seas, a population of wage-earning natives who no longer have a stake in the soil of their motherland. Until the recent depression, such westernization or individualization of the natives was regarded as a good thing, a sign of progress, by the colonial governments. Now, it was believed, the South Sea islanders were passing beyond the primitive stage of communalism and becoming civilized in the economic sense. But the disastrous effects of the depression, with steep declines in the prices of export goods and consequent widespread unemployment among urbanized natives who had abandoned the old economy, caused a sharp turnabout in official policy. The administrations noticed that natives who had stayed home, in the self-sufficient, self-contained communities, were insulated from the effects of the depression, for their economy lay outside the currents of world trade. Therefore, in most parts of Oceania today the colonial governments are encouraging the preservation of the old economy, with its insurance features of communal ownership and mutual aid. The Dutch in the Indies have always done this; the other colonial powers needed a depression to make them see the values of traditional native ways of life.

Housing. The South Sea islands cluster along the equatorial line, and the climate is prevailingly warm.

Therefore, housing tends to be quite simple, the standard construction being the rectangular wood and thatch dwelling raised on piles. These vary from single-family huts to great longhouses that reach lengths of 500 feet in Melanesia, and even 1,000 feet in Borneo. Such enormous structures may accommodate an entire village population under one roof, the families occupying separate apartments within the communal dwelling. Except for the gigantic dimensions of some of them, however, Oceanic houses are not usually very impressive. Their construction is flimsy and ornamentation scanty. But certain tribes make a specialty of using heavy timbers for the underpinnings and fronts of their houses, carving and painting elaborate designs on the wood. The great hooded houses of Nias, off Sumatra's west coast; the carved dwellings of the New Zealand Maoris, before which stand upright posts that look like the totem poles of the northwestern American Indians; and the highly decorated men's clubhouses of some Micronesian islands are examples of elaboration in Oceanic architecture. In addition to dwellings, most of the villages in the Pacific area include other buildings. Characteristic of most tribes are community pavilions, used for council meetings and public ceremonies, and as men's clubhouses, where unmarried youths and guests of the village sleep. In Melanesia, and in some parts of Indonesia and Micronesia, separate clubhouses are the meeting places of men's secret societies, similar to our fraternal organizations and lodges, but much more closely geared into the social and religious life of the community.



Nias Houses, SUMATRA, INDONESIA

Separation of the sexes, which appears in specialization of labor, with certain kinds of tasks assigned wholly to women, and others only to men, is a dominant feature of Oceanic economic life; and the pattern carries over into housing as well. The particular arrangement varies from place to place, but throughout the Pacific islands boys and young men have either separate parts of communal dwellings or detached houses assigned to them; and, correspondingly, girls and young women are restricted in their own living accommodations. This division is less marked in Polynesia than elsewhere, but it exists in one form or another there too. Mixing of the sexes in housing is allowed only for married couples; and even at that, husbands and wives generally associate only with persons of their own sex except during the night and at mealtimes. Indeed, in several parts of Oceania, notably in Polynesia and Melanesia, the sexes even eat separately; and throughout the whole island area it is quite customary for men to eat before women, even when they use common cooking equipment and dining places. This dichotomy of the sexes has mythological and religious significance, based upon ideas of what might be called male and female magical principles, like the Yang and the Yin of Chinese cosmography. The most striking expression of beliefs about sexual magic in the sphere of housing occurs in Melanesia and Micronesia, where menstruating women and expectant mothers are secluded in special huts that are taboo to men. The virile, male principle would be polluted and weakened by contact with such obvious manifestations of female magic.

Dress. As simple as the housing in most parts of Oceania is the dress of the islanders. In Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia, the traditional clothing materials were tapa, or bark cloth, mats, leaves, and grass; and in these regions, except on festive occasions, neither men nor women customarily wore anything above the waist. In the remoter islands, the old types of garments are still worn. In Indonesia, although bark-cloth, mats, and leaves are used by a few isolated tribes, the art of weaving has been known for centuries, and woven textiles are generally utilized for clothing. One of the great puzzles of anthropology is the occurrence of native weaving in parts of Micronesia and in the otherwise very primitive Santa Cruz Islands of Melanesia. How this relatively complex technique ever reached these islands, and why it was not known in neighboring regions, are unsolved questions. Nowadays, imported textiles are used widely in the South Sea islands, and the remarkably ugly "Mother Hubbard" dress is the standard daily attire of most Polynesian and Micronesian women. The missionaries are mainly responsible for this atrocity. But the Indonesians, although they make their clothes of trade cloth as well as locally woven textiles, have never changed the style of their garments, and still wear graceful and colorful sarongs and blouses. Most of the Melanese still use primitive dress materials, in the form of scanty loincloths for men, and short kilts for women.

A transformation in clothing takes place on festive occasions. Then appear the old, ornate costumes, the heirlooms from the past: the beautiful silk and gold brocaded garments of the Indonesians, topped by elaborate headdresses of bright cloth or intricate metal



BALI WOMEN, INDONESIA

filigree; the brilliantly painted bark-cloth clothes of the Polynesians; the fine, decorative mat skirts and shoulder cloths of the Micronesians; and the heavy bangles and necklaces and arm and leg ornaments of the Melanesians. Even where shapeless garments of imported textiles are used for daily wear, the cherished ancestral costumes are preserved for great occasions.

Mutilations. Oceania is an area where a wide variety of bodily mutilations are practiced: for cult purposes, as marks of prestige, and generally, merely because they are regarded as improvements on the natural form of the human body. Tattooing was once very general throughout all the islands, although now it has disappeared in the more advanced regions. Scarification by cutting and burning designs in the flesh flourishes especially in Melanesia, where the natives' skin is often too dark to make tattooing visible; but it also extends into Micronesia and parts of Indonesia. Ear piercing for the insertion of ornaments is virtually universal; and some form of operation is practiced on the genital organs of boys in all regions except Micronesia, where a form of mutilation absolutely unique in the world—removal of one testicle—occurs in Ponape. The two most common kinds of genital alteration are circumcision, in the Hebrew fashion, and supercision, which is done by merely slitting the fore part of the male organ without removing any flesh. In Indonesia alone, a comparable operation is performed on girls, a slight incision being made on the surface of the genitals. Indonesia is also the home of a most remarkable type of mutilation, filing of the front teeth, either down in an even line, or to points, or by grinding out the front surfaces of



BORNEO DYAK WITH DISTENDED EAR LOBES



MENTAWI WOMAN WITH FILLED TEETH,
SUMATRA, INDONESIA

the teeth in a concave pattern. Piercing of holes in the nose, through either the center partition or the sides, is confined to Melanesia, where the natives present a fantastic appearance, with sticks, animal teeth, knobs, rings, and almost anything else that will fit inserted in the nasal incisions. The natives are generally at a loss to give reasons why they practice such remarkable, and painful, operations on their bodies, usually stating merely that it is a traditional custom, and that it improves their appearance. When I asked an old Batak in Sumatra why his people filed their teeth, he answered, "Because we do not like to look like dogs," staring meanwhile at my own gleaming white fangs.

Arts and Handicrafts. Although the old arts of handicraft are in a state of decline in most parts of the Pacific, the people still carry on a good many of them. Metal-working seldom occurs east of Indonesia, but there the artifacts of the native smiths in iron, gold, silver, brass, and copper show a high degree of skill. Indonesia also is an area of beautiful woven textile work, and the decoration of cloths by brocading, tie-dyeing, and batik methods is a traditional art in most tribes. In Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia, the manufacture and ornamentation of bark-cloth, the carving of wood, and basketry and mat-making are the principal handicrafts. In general, one can say that the Indonesians have a wide versatility in material arts, while the other South Sea islanders show a much narrower range of specialization, their particular skills varying from region to region. Thus, the Hawaiians carried feather-work to a peak of perfection attained nowhere else in the world; while the New Zealanders



PONAPE MEN WITH DECORATIVE SCARIFICATION, MICRONESIA

and Melanesians are masters of wood-carving; and the Micronesians concentrate on decorative shell-inlay work. The Melanesians, as I have remarked, still use stone tools in certain remote districts, principally in the New Guinea mountains, and are thus the possessors of the last surviving stone-age culture in the world, with the exception of a few savage Australian tribes. The Polynesians and Micronesians have now taken over the white man's tools; but only a few generations ago they carved wood and made their great canoes with stone adzes and chisels, shell and shark-tooth cutting instruments, and "sandpaper" of sharkskin. Indonesia, of course, passed beyond the stone-tool stage hundreds of years ago.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The social and political organization of the Oceanic peoples shows certain broad similarities all the way from Sumatra to Hawaii, but local variations occur in different regions. Throughout the entire area, the basis of social, economic, and political life is the self-contained village community, which I have already described. In Indonesia and Melanesia, these local units are essentially democratic in structure and government. Here the community is an organization of communal landholding and mutual sharing and aid, governed by a council of elders or other responsible men, who must follow the will of the majority of the people. In Indonesia, each village has at its head also a chief, an assistant chief, and a priest. These offices tend to be hereditary, but unfit or unpopular heirs to these positions will be passed by for acceptable successors. In Melanesia, actual ruling chiefs are un-



JAVA SULTAN, INDONESIA

known in most tribes, and the communities are governed by councils of clan elders. In Polynesia and Micronesia, the village units are also communalistic and mutual aid organizations, but here a rigidly stratified scheme of aristocracy makes it so that only individuals of the noble class may hold important positions. So we may say that the basic units of Indonesian and Melanesian society, the local settlements, are generally democratic; whereas heirarchical systems of nobility characterize the organization of Polynesian and Micronesian villages.

Above the village community level there is no higher and more comprehensive social and political grouping in Melanesia. There are no district chiefs or kings. But in Indonesia, Polynesia, and Micronesia, political organization is more highly developed, and in these regions there are not only district chiefs, ruling over clusters of villages, but also true monarchs, who govern their states by hereditary, and often divine, right. The native kings and states of Indonesia, however, date only from the period of Hindu rule, which began about 500 A.D. Before that, the Indies knew no higher political unit than the community, or, in some islands, district federations of villages. In Polynesia and Micronesia, on the other hand, despotic rule by hereditary monarchs was a local development in the islands, and was not introduced by outsiders. Why this happened is difficult to explain, and indeed we shall never discover the true reasons for it. But somewhere and somehow in their migrations out from the Indonesian homeland, the ancestors of the present Micronesians and Polynesians acquired the aristocratic scheme of social stratification that culminated in the monarch.

The system is supported and rationalized by an elaborate mythology. In this, the kingly lines of genealogy run directly back to the gods; while common folk are much more indirectly and distantly related to the deities. And so, the ruling king in Polynesia and Micronesia is the senior son of the senior line of the noble strain that leads back directly to the gods. For this reason, he has a great concentration of magical power, called *mana*, in him, which causes him to partake of the nature of a god. To disobey or fail to honor such a demigod would be courting both political and magical disaster. In Samoa, the high chiefs used to be so highly regarded that they never even spoke out in public, but rather had so-called "talking chiefs," who performed the mundane function of speech for them. Thus we see that Polynesian and Micronesian kingship is based essentially on mythological and religious beliefs, and that the rulers are tabernacles of magical holiness as well as political potentates.

Nowadays, although in many of the islands the old nobles still hold sway, their power has weakened, and in several places has disappeared. The old Hawaiian kingly line, for instance, still survives, but no longer has any political significance. In Tonga, on the other hand, the ruler, now a queen, still governs with the authority of tradition, and is accepted by the British administration as the true monarch of the islands. Her husband is premier, and he is assisted in government by a council of state, composed of seven high nobles and seven commoners, the latter elected by popular vote. The commoner members of the council are a recent innovation. But in most of the aristocratic islands of the South Seas, the coming of the white

man shook the ancient beliefs in the ruler's *mana*, for the natives saw the palefaced strangers violate with impunity the sanctity of royalty and the taboos that surrounded the king. And now, although in Samoa and other islands the old hereditary chieftains still occupy positions of influence, they are rivalled more and more in public esteem by the new officials who partake of the white man's *mana*: the Christian pastor, the constable, and the teacher.

The Indonesian sultans and rajahs, now mostly Mohammedan, are lineal successors of the rulers of Hindu states that were established all over the coastlands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, and some of the more easterly islands during the great period of colonization from India. The common folk of the Indies do have superstitious beliefs concerning the magical might of their sultans, but these are vague, and by no means so highly elaborated or effective as the faith of the Polynesians and Micronesians in the *mana* of their kings.

Kinship. While the territorial village communities are the basic units of Oceanic social organization, genealogical bonds of blood relationship are of great importance also. In Melanesia, a whole village population may belong to a single genealogical clan, all descended from a common ancestor. Elsewhere, the communities are composed of several extended family lineages or clans, each one living in a special section of the village, sometimes in a single longhouse, and functioning as a social and economic unit. The South Sea islanders reckon relationships far beyond the immediate family; and such extended systems of kinship are important, because on them are based marriage rules, regulations concerning residence, obligations of mu-

tual aid, and property laws. Some of the tribes reckon kinship only in the maternal line; others stress male descent; while still others reckon relationship on both the father's and the mother's side, as we do in America. In Indonesia, all three kinds of kinship occur, varying in different tribes. In Melanesia, patrilineal and matrilineal systems are found interspersed. In Micronesia, the maternal line of descent is the important one. In Polynesia, bilateral descent prevails, with a slight favoring of the paternal line. In this bald recital of the vagaries of social organization in Oceania, you get some impression of the problems that face anthropologists when they essay the study of only one sector of the primitive world. Perhaps the best covering statement to make concerning the variegated patterns of kinship reckoning in the South Seas is that the different islands and island groups were settled by parties and tribes who, although they possessed a general similarity of community organization, had developed specialties in the sphere of blood relationship ideas. The ancient homeland, Indonesia, after all, has all the varieties of kinship that are found in the oceanic islands, and the different emigrating groups carried their own traditional systems with them on their voyages out into the Pacific.

In many parts of Indonesia, and throughout Melanesia and Micronesia, but not in Polynesia, the patrilineal and matrilineal systems of reckoning kinship become vastly elaborated by the development of clans. Where this occurs in a patrilineal tribe, a person is not only prohibited from marrying blood relatives on the father's side, but the taboo is also extended to all members of the father's clan, no matter how distant the

relationship may be. A Batak of Sumatra, for instance, may go to live in a part of his country where neither he nor his family has ever been before; but he may not select for his bride any woman belonging to his—that is, his father's—clan. In a matrilineal tribe with clans the same rule applies, except that here a person may not marry a member of his mother's clan. Thus a Minangkabau of Sumatra, moving into a village far from his native community and looking for a wife, first inquires concerning the clan membership of the eligible girls and crosses off his list of possibilities all those with the same clan name as himself and his mother. Such a system is based on the belief that all members of a clan are descended from a common ancestor, male or female, depending upon the type of kinship reckoning. It is as though we were to recognize that all persons named Smith are descended from an original "Great Smith" who founded the lineage, and tabooed marriage between all individuals with this name.

Marriage. Where clans do not occur, only incest rules restrict the choice of mates. In certain parts of Polynesia, notably Hawaii, however, the marriage of brother and sister was prescribed in the royal family. This was a device calculated to intensify the royal *mana*, or magical power, by inbreeding. Royal incest was also practiced by the Inca of Peru and the Ptolemies of Egypt, for the same reason. Cleopatra, for instance, was the end product of a long succession of brother-sister marriages.

One feature of the sex life of Oceania has shocked and saddened missionaries. In most of the South Sea islands, premarital sex experimentation is not only con-

done, but regarded as rather a normal and proper thing. In noble families this is not so, however, for the semi-divine blood must be protected from possible pollution. But among the masses of the people, the period between puberty and marriage is one of preparatory amours. And even today, despite Christianity and contact with western standards of morality, the islanders refuse to inhibit what they consider to be the normal, healthy flowering of the love-life of young people. Another custom of the Oceanians that missionaries despise is polygamy. Generally, in the old days, only chiefs and rich men could afford more than one wife, but there was no rule against having several if a man could support them. This pattern still holds in several islands, but has been abolished in most of Oceania, not only because of missionary pressure but also because of legal prohibition.

The only colonial power which has refused to interfere with the private morality of natives is the Dutch. In the Indies, polygamy, trial marriage, and all the other traditional customs have been left untouched by the administration. Here again, as in the case of preservation and protection of native land rights, we find the Dutch taking special pains to see the native's point of view in all matters.

The same divergence between the Dutch and other colonial administrations in the Pacific appears in policies concerning native law. In other parts of Oceania than the Indies—except for most of Melanesia, which is still a frontier—all the controlling powers—British, American, French, and Japanese—have tried to impose their own legal concepts and standards upon the natives, generally encountering in the process not only

resistance but complete confusion. Now, with better training of administrators in anthropology, the tendency is toward compromise between local rules and the laws of the home country. The Dutch, who have long insisted on a five-year university course in native languages, laws, and customs for all of their civil service officers in the Indies, have in this case also showed the way to intercultural adjustment in colonial administration.

Warfare. On one old native activity all the controlling powers in Oceania have placed a strong prohibition, and that is warfare. The great powers may wage war, but not the natives who are under their rule. Intertribal and intervillage feuds still persist in many parts of Melanesia, and occasional headhunting raids are carried out secretly in Borneo; but the Pacific governments have put a stop to native warfare in all the rest of the islands. In former times, however, intermittent strife was a normal feature of native life in the South Seas. The reasons for war were various; the main causes being rivalry between rulers, competition for human head trophies, disputes over land boundaries, raiding for slaves, and merely traditional feuding between hereditary enemies, the origin of which in many cases had long since been forgotten. But native warfare was seldom very sanguinary, because the weapons—bows, spears, slings, clubs, and the like—were not especially dangerous. Moreover, war had many aspects of a game, a test of strength between the combatants. This appeared strikingly during the Maori Wars in New Zealand in the 19th century, when the British were astonished at the sportsmanlike attitude of the natives in battle. On one occasion, white soldiers be-



NIAS WARRIORS, SUMATRA, INDONESIA

sieged in a fort without food were given supplies by their Maori opponents so that they would be able to fight well.

But with the coming of the white man, native warfare became infected with the grim code of ruthless aggrandizement by conquest that characterizes so-called "civilized" military operations. Numerous native "Napoleons" rose up in the islands, and, with the fire-arms acquired from the newcomers, set out upon organized campaigns of total conquest. Kamehameha conquered the entire Hawaiian group; in New Zealand, Hongi and Te Rauparaha carried bloody conquest far and wide; and in Tahiti, Pomare, supported by white guns, became king of the whole island. The natives were nonplussed by the contradiction between the belligerent warlikeness of the whites and their preachment of the Christian religion of brotherly love. Even missionaries used military power to spread conversion, by getting the governments to arm Christianized chiefs who then carried the new faith to their pagan brothers by force. The extreme case of missionary embroilment in native warfare occurred when, in one group of islands, three missionary societies were competing bitterly for converts. Finally, the rivalry broke out into open conflict, each of the churches arming its native cohorts and leading them into battle. The blessings of civilization came hard indeed to the South Sea tribes. Nowadays, the Christian church, strangely enough, provides new ways of carrying on old intervillage and interisland feuds. Groups who in former times were traditional enemies no longer go out on headhunting raids. They compete in hymn-singing contests, putting everything they have into the



BORNEO DYAK, INDONESIA

new form of warfare. They try to outdo one another in the size and magnificence of their church buildings, to the extent that the governments in some islands have had to place restrictions on the construction of new churches. Individual rivals and families striving for prestige over other families, who in the old days would have squandered great stores of wealth on feasts and free distribution of gifts, now fight it out on the collection plate at divine services, and the annual church collection lists are anxiously scanned to find the prestige ranking for the coming year.

RELIGION

The ancient religious beliefs and practices of the Oceanic peoples have been strongly affected by the intrusion of the great world religions of Europe and Asia. Ninety per cent of the Indonesians are now Mohammedans, a consequence of the great conversion from Hinduism that took place between 1300 and 1500 A.D. The vast majority of the Polynesians are now, at least technically, Christianized; and the same is true of the Micronesians. Missionary societies have been active in these islands for almost a hundred years, and hardly an atoll has remained free of their ministrations. As an anthropologist, I do not feel very sympathetic toward missionaries, for I dislike seeing the colorful and ethnologically significant pagan cults abolished. But that is a professional prejudice, and I can also see some good things that missionaries have accomplished. At any rate, Melanesia, at least, still remains almost entirely untouched by the proselytizing contingents of the West, and here paganism flourishes.

Despite the surface conversion of the South Sea islanders to either Mohammedanism or Christianity, the old beliefs and practices of the ancestors still persist under the new veneer. The great masses are still pagan at heart. The traditional religions of Oceania rest basically upon four sets of partly overlapping and partly independent concepts, namely: beliefs concerning gods, spirits, magic, and the ghosts of the dead. Pantheons of high gods are characteristic mainly of Polynesian religion, where the elaborate mythology tells of the birth of the gods, the creation of the world, and the subsequent fate of deities and men. But even here, the gods are too remote and too lofty to be accessible to common people by means of prayer and sacrifice. They are explanations of how things originally came to be rather than immediately felt presences. The spirits, of a vast variety, both good and bad, swarm in the air and on the earth, and they have a powerful influence on the happiness and prosperity of men. They must be placated by offerings and praise; or, if evil, avoided; and the help of the benevolent ones must be enlisted by men in their eternal struggle with the bad spirits.

In addition to the gods on high and the spirits all around, the whole universe, in the minds of the natives, is suffused with magical power, which can be manipulated for both good and evil purposes. White magic, so-called, is employed to work benefits for men; black magic, to harm enemies. Every living thing is a repository of magical power; and above all, human beings contain an especially strong charge of this vital principle. Here we see the basis of belief in the *mana*,

or magical power, of high chiefs and kings; they have a supercharge of spiritual strength.

Magical conceptions also explain, in part at least, the former prevalence of headhunting in the islands. If human bodies are dynamos of supernatural power, this is concentrated especially in the most living part of the body, the head. A Borneo settlement, let us say, has been suffering from epidemics, crop failures, and infertility of women. Casting about for a reason to explain their ill-fortune, the people arrive at the characteristically Indonesian notion that their group lacks magical power. Their spiritual "juice" is running low. What they need is a fresh influx of supernatural vigor, not only to strengthen themselves, their crops, and their women, but also to fight off evil spirits with greater effectiveness. One of the most direct means of getting the magical power they need is to capture a new batch of heads from some other group. The spiritual energy of the other settlement is most richly concentrated in their heads, and by getting some of these the home village will divert a part of the current vitality into their own community. It is easy to see how the attacked group, after losing several heads—and with them some of their total stock of magical power—will at once begin planning a return raid in order to get back what they have lost; in other words, to restore the "balance of heads." Especially will they feel the need to do this if they begin to suffer misfortunes after the raid. And so, the feuding pattern is established and goes on generation after generation—as a kind of grand and grisly spiritual game.

Powerful though the beliefs in magic and spirits are, probably the most important cult in Oceania has to do

with the ghosts of the dead and the ancestors. This elaborate concern with the dead reaches its culmination in the all-important ancestor cult. The ancestors have passed beyond, to the realm of the spirits, and, if kept satisfied, are in an excellent position to help the living. Therefore, they receive endless sacrifices, and the people dread doing anything which they believe might offend them. This is one great reason for the conservatism of the Oceanians, for the ancestors are likely to be angered by any alteration in the ways they were used to an earth, and will therefore withdraw their favors from the living.

In religion, as in other spheres of culture, the Pacific peoples have been passing through a period of severe conflict between their traditional beliefs and customs, nourished over a thousand generations of isolated history, and the radically new and different ways of the western world. Most of the Indonesians have long since passed the conflict stage, and have attained a rather stable adjustment, largely under the sympathetic rule of the Dutch. The Polynesians and Micronesians never saw outsiders until little more than a hundred years ago, and have had to withstand a constant succession of numbing shocks, by slavers, unscrupulous traders, well-meaning but intolerant missionaries, and badly trained government officials. They began to come out of their shock period about forty years ago, and are now reintegrating their culture on a pattern of compromise between old and new. The Melanesians are right now going through the acculturation experience, and have still to solve the problems of adjustment to the outside world, which is now pressing in upon them relentlessly. Over the

vast waters of the Pacific, where for long ages the Oceanic peoples were left undisturbed to work out their own destiny, the day of the great voyagers, the god-descended high chiefs, the headhunting warriors, and the pagan priests chanting to the spirits on the majestic stone altars has drawn to a close. A new day is dawning, and no power can hold it back.

FUTURE PROSPECTS

But what will this new day bring? It is difficult to make predictions in the present confused state of affairs, but by examining the problems which have already appeared, and by summarizing the trends in the area, we may project our view into the future and indicate in broad outlines the probable shape of things to come. The problem zones, the spheres of most intensive activity and development are three: economic, educational, and political.

Population and Resources. Economically, the future resolves itself into the basic questions of population, land, and resources. Indonesia, despite its enormous population of 70,000,000, contains plenty of spare land, except in one island, Java. There, in an area of 50,000 square miles, the size of New York State, live 50,000,000 people, increasing at the rate of over 500,000 annually. The overpopulation problem of Java is almost desperate, and in past years the Dutch have tried various ways of meeting it. They have pushed soil utilization and improvement to the point of maximum productivity. They have attempted to move some of the excess population to other islands where unoccupied land is available. But here, as elsewhere in Oceania, unless the birth rate can be con-

trolled by some means, the overpopulation problem would seem insoluble. Many people ask: Why not a program of conscious birth-control? But this is more easily said than done. Birth-control in the Western sense would require a vast scheme of education, and provision of medical advice and equipment at tremendous cost. The sociologist has a kind of solution which he calls "raising the standard of living," for he knows that whenever and wherever the ambitions of a people for better food, clothing, housing, education, and the rest have been stimulated, they have invariably sought, on their own initiative, means of limiting their families. They have aimed at quality rather than quantity in their children. But this apparent solution merely shifts the problem to another level, and leaves one with the question of how to raise the standard of living.

In any case, except for Java, the remainder of Indonesia has plenty of free land to accommodate population needs for a long time to come. The Indies are also fortunate in the possession of vast natural wealth. The productivity of the soil is capable of great development, and the range of products that have both local and world value is very wide, including rice, corn, rubber, sugar, tea, coffee, copra, spices, fibers, and quinine, to mention only the principal ones. The mineral resources, by no means fully explored or exploited in the past, are correspondingly rich, petroleum and tin being the main products thus far developed. Economically, therefore, Indonesia has promise of a bright and prosperous future, the main problem there being the unequal distribution of population, with seventy per cent of the total crowded into the island of Java.

Melanesia is very thinly populated, and vast areas of potentially rich land lie unoccupied. Moreover, these large islands possess mineral wealth rivalling that of Indonesia. New Guinea has oil and gold, New Caledonia has nickel and chrome, and the New Hebrides and Solomons, as yet practically untouched by mining enterprise, are known to hold deposits of various valuable metals. This whole frontier area, with no population pressure, presents only problems of development and organization.

Polynesia and Micronesia, on the other hand, are already facing the danger of overpopulation. These small bits of land simply cannot stand any excess of inhabitants; but here, as in Java, modern governments, by abolishing local warfare, and modern medicine, by reducing disease and high infant mortality, have removed the normal checks on natural human fertility and upset the balance of man and land. The purposes are good and humane, but the result of such well-intended programs of peace and health is bound to be overpopulation. In the past twenty years, the Samoans have increased by sixty per cent and the Tongans by forty per cent. The Ellice Islands and Aitutaki now support 300 persons per square mile; Tikopia, over 400 per square mile. Recently the chiefs of Tikopia, alarmed at the swarming infants on their island, seriously suggested to an anthropologist infanticide as a solution. Except for phosphate mining on a few islands, notably Nauru and Ocean Island in Micronesia, and a moderate development of such export cash crops as coffee, pineapple, sugar, and cocoa in some parts of Polynesia, copra, or dried coconut meat, is the only product of the small islands that holds a

prominent place on the world market. With the pressure of population ever increasing, what possibilities of economic expansion are there? Even copra, which yields oil for use in manufacturing soap and food products, fluctuates constantly in price, and faces ever rising competition from other vegetable oils and synthetic substitutes.

The most direct and obvious solution would be reduction of the birth rate. But this, as we have noted in the case of Java, would require either a vast and expensive, and probably unfeasible, program of contraceptive advice and clinical service, or an indirect attack by raising the standard of living. Here again, then, we are faced with another problem rather than a solution. In the immediate future, probably the best that can be done is to plan for maximum productivity and optimum distribution of income and goods, so as to provide for the constant increment of population and avoid the growth of a pauper class. Emigration to other lands offers little hope for surplus population, since the tendency in most countries is to restrict rather than increase immigration. Already the colonial administrations in the Pacific are turning to a policy of preserving and strengthening the traditional systems of communal land-ownership and co-operative sharing so as to ensure to all natives a share in the products of their native lands. During the recent depression it was the urbanized natives, who had broken all ties with their home communities and attached themselves to the white man's economy, who suffered most. By giving up their shares in the common tribal heritage they had lost the "emergency cushion" that

the mutual aid patterns of the old communities provide.

The new trend in economic planning for the South Seas is something taken over from the old system, or rather growing out of it. The governments there are encouraging the development of native producing co-operatives, a device which has come into Western society recently as a radical departure from our traditional economic individualism, but which fits perfectly into the ancestral economy of the Oceanic peoples. In the Indies, native communities have been organized as co-operative units producing farming tools, textiles, hats, mats, and other commodities for local use and export trade. In New Zealand, co-operative dairies and ranches are now in operation; and in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands native copra marketing is being carried on by co-operatives.

In addition to building this modern scheme on the pattern of the old economy, the colonial administrations have been investigating the market possibilities of new products, such as locally-made soap and cloth, canned seafoods, and native craftwork for export. A very promising field of economic activity after the war may be provided by the airplane and other improved means of travel; and that is vacation resort business. These beautiful islands, made more accessible to the mainland peoples, would offer ideal rest and recreation spots for the weary and work-worn. The anthropologist and the lover of exotic cultures may mourn such a prospect, but this is a practical world, and the South Sea islanders—more and more of them—must live.

Education. Education, in the Western sense, has never progressed far in Oceania. Melanesia is a vast

zone of almost complete illiteracy; and the Indonesians, under the Dutch, have remained over ninety per cent illiterate. Polynesia and Micronesia show great contrasts in educational level. Many remote islands are completely untouched by schools and teachers; but the Tongans are one hundred per cent literate, the Samoans ninety-six per cent, the Gilbert and Ellice Islanders ninety-four per cent; and nearly all the Hawaiians and New Zealand natives can read and write. In all the South Sea regions, provisions for any schooling above the elementary standard are almost non-existent. Melanesia, with the exception of Fiji, has no high schools. In Micronesia, only Guam and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands have secondary schools. In Polynesia, Tonga, a semi-self-governing British possession, even boasts a college of sorts. But elsewhere elementary schools provide all the education there is, with three exceptions. The American part of Samoa has secondary schools, and Hawaii and New Zealand are equipped with complete school systems, including excellent universities. Thus the general picture of educational facilities is one of either no schools at all or modest provision for elementary instruction.

The schools in Oceania are operated by either missionary societies or the governments. The British and French generally favor mission schools, and aid them with government subsidies. The Americans, Dutch, and Japanese have concentrated on secular public schools; although the former two allow missionaries to set up schools, and the Dutch government helps in their support. School attendance is compulsory only in the American islands. The Dutch schools in the Indies are not only non-compulsory; all who attend

must pay tuition fees, which is one of the main reasons why so few Indonesians are literate. Thus there is a remarkable lack of uniformity in the operation of the school systems of the South Seas, a reflection of the extremely variegated national sovereignties in the islands. Every colonial administration has its own ideas as to how education should be handled, and how far it should go.

And yet the natives themselves, in most places where they have come in contact with schools, clamor for more and better education. This is another of the influences of Western culture that have spread to the South Seas. The people have caught a glimpse of what they consider to be a kind of magic in the educational process. And magic it is, but of a kind that the white masters are not entirely sure they like. It transforms populations of easygoing, easy-to-handle natives into ambitious, enterprising people like ourselves, who get ideas about self-government, better jobs, and higher wages. The most common argument against educating natives is not expressed in this fashion, however. The claim usually is that higher education causes social and individual maladjustment by fitting natives for skilled and professional occupations which are non-existent in their homelands. After attending high school or college, the islander is no longer content to return to his farming and fishing, but wishes to become a lawyer, doctor, or government employee. The vision of an ever-swelling white-collar proletariat, unemployed and discontented, thronging the port towns, is conjured up to frighten off forever the educational reformer in the South Seas.

The argument and the vision both have great force, but sooner or later every colonial administration is going to have to face the problem of irresistible native pressure for higher education. This is a world current that even now has reached the shores of the islands. What the proper solution may be is difficult to say, but certain broad lines of policy can be indicated. It would seem only just, in the first place, to grant the natives all the education that they desire and that can be paid for by the yield of their own homelands. In Indonesia, richest colony in the world, only planning and organization are needed to bring forth an educational system that could rank with the finest on earth. In Melanesia, the unexploited wealth of the soil and the mineral treasures, if turned to the natives' own welfare, could provide funds for all foreseeable educational needs. But Polynesia and Micronesia, with population pressing on minute islands, defy the best efforts of practical-minded educational planners. Here, if much more is to be done with the school systems than has now been accomplished, either some new source of wealth must be developed or some charitable outside power must provide means.

As for the argument that maladjustment would be caused by over-educating natives for the jobs available, it would seem that the only way of avoiding this would be to prepare them realistically, in each region, for the situation they will face when they have completed their schooling. They must be impressed, all through their years of learning, with the limitations of local opportunity, but also, and this is important, with the potentialities of their own islands and their own people. They must be taught their place in the world, the his-

tory and traditions of their ancestors, as well as the history and present conditions of other countries. In our Western schools children are indoctrinated with the notion that they should compete ceaselessly for success, and here success is usually measured by material gains. Since great material wealth, according to all present indications, is going to lie beyond the power of attainment of most Polynesians and Micronesians, perhaps they could be fired by the educational ideal of great mental wealth. In other words, must we always and everywhere feel that education and intellectual development should be rewarded by material profit? Some of us, who have renounced the hope of riches for scientific and artistic rewards, see nothing visionary in this train of thought. In any case, it would seem that realistic education, adjusted to local needs and realities, could satisfy the thirst for knowledge of the Pacific islanders, without instilling in them false ideals and unattainable desires.

Political Status. The political status of the South Sea islands may be characterized by one word: colonial. All of the islands, and all of the peoples, are ruled by outside powers: the Netherlands, Portugal, France, Japan, the United States, Chile, Great Britain, and the British commonwealths of Australia and New Zealand. In many parts of Oceania, hereditary rulers of one kind or another are still retained in office by the controlling powers, and the natives are governed "indirectly" through these potentates. Outstanding examples of this scheme of government are seen in the Malay sultanates of Sumatra, the principalities of Java, the kingdom of Tonga, and in Samoa and Fiji. Elsewhere, notably in the politically backward sections of Indo-

nesia and most of Melanesia, the colonial administrations rule the islands directly, only local chieftains standing between the officers of the central government and the people. But nearly everywhere in Oceania, the natives now participate in government to some degree, usually by having a vote in the selection of members of legislative or advisory councils. Of course, as we have already noted, the local communities throughout almost the entire area still retain their traditional forms of political organization. But, except for their share, direct or indirect, in the colonial councils, which are usually not very powerful, the masses of the people have little voice in the government of their homelands. They are, in short, colonial peoples, and their islands are colonial possessions.

Strivings for more self-government, and even for complete independence, have been strongest in Indonesia. Elsewhere in Oceania, nationalistic movements either have never arisen, or have assumed the proportions of little more than local revolts. Even in Indonesia, most nationalistic agitation has been directed not toward independence, but rather toward an increasing local share in government. Whatever one's political beliefs or ideals may be, truth demands the outright statement that the Oceanic peoples are simply unprepared for true independence, and most of them are still too immature politically to be able to participate efficiently in the governing of large countries. The majority of them do not even have a sense of national "belonging" to their own island groups, and their loyalties are limited to mere communities or single islands. This, I realize, is not entirely their own fault, for they have never been educated or trained in the

managing of larger units of government. This situation is now changing, slowly but with increasing speed, and the educated natives are beginning to expand their horizons of nationality. The Javanese are thinking increasingly in terms of Java rather than their little home village; the Fijians are merging their separate island loyalties into a new feeling for Fiji as a whole; and even broader conceptions of "Indonesia" and "Polynesia" as national units, unheard of a few decades ago, are coming into popular usage. Here, of course, we are witnessing again the spread of Western ideas into the far reaches of the Pacific. Most of the colonial governments have reacted violently to native independence movements, and only somewhat less so to pressing demands for increased self-government. Yet the trends are clear, and all over the South Seas, especially as education has made its painfully slow way, native participation in the colonial administrations has been gradually increasing. In Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa in Polynesia; in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands in Micronesia; and in most of Indonesia, partial native self-government is already a reality. In Hawaii and New Zealand, of course, the native groups in the population are well represented in the parliaments and official positions of administration. The natives are still "little brothers" in the governments of their homelands, but they are growing up.

Many proposals have been made for future reorganization of the political structure of Oceania. Some are moderate, and suggest mere administrative changes, as for instance that all the possessions of the British be united under one jurisdiction, all the French islands under another, and similarly for the American terri-

tories. Others foresee a great South Seas Federation, ruled by a joint board of natives and representatives of the various colonial powers. Some of the advocates of this plan carry their program further, and envision a future independent state of Oceania. Still others call for "internationalization" of all the islands, under a mandate system, whereby each trustee power will prepare its particular "wards" for self-government.

What will the new day bring to these people of Oceania? What is to become of the ancient civilization of Indonesia, the stone-age cultures of Melanesia, the isolated island societies of Polynesia and Micronesia? We can look into the record of the past; and trace the evolution to the present; and then, with this background, even make a few predictions for the future. But the coming chapters in the saga of the Oceanic peoples will have to wait on time. You will have to live through them. I hope that what I have told you here of the history and present condition of the peoples and cultures of the South Seas will add something to your interest in and understanding of future events in the great island area of the Pacific.

